

E

671

B98

Butler, Benjamin F.

Address. The Present
relations of Parties.



Class E 671

Book .B 98

77
ADDRESS.

THE

429
998
PRESENT RELATIONS OF PARTIES.

DUTY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY TO ADJUST THE
QUESTIONS WITH OTHER NATIONS BROUGHT
OUT BY THE REBELLION,

AND TO

PROTECT AMERICAN FISHERIES

AGAINST BRITISH AGGRESSION.

✓
By BENJ. F. BUTLER,

MUSIC HALL, BOSTON, NOV. 23, 1870.



MARDEN & ROWELL, PRINTERS, LOWELL.

1870

E671
.B98

ADDRESS.

RESULTS OF THE WAR ABROGATING PARTY DISTINCTIONS.

By the results flowing from the late Rebellion; by the growth and expansion of the country; by the facilities of intercommunication and transportation, demanding a system of national internal improvements; by the variety of interests arising from opposing differences of industrial, agricultural and commercial pursuits; by the necessities for revenue calling for taxation, both direct and indirect; by the extent and varied character of our national obligations introducing new forms of wealth and subjects for a circulating medium of unchangeable and equal value;—quite all the distinctions of party doctrines and party watch-words have been abrogated, save the single dogma, still adhered to by the Democratic party, as to the rights of the States as corporations in contradistinction to the rights of the Federal Union as a national government.

MISSION OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AT HOME ENDED.

The Republican party, in its inception, held in fact but one cardinal principle in common; its members divided upon every other. Its highest claim was a demand for the extinction of slavery by the gradual circumscription of its limits. By the insurrection of the seceding States, by their union into a confederation exercising the powers of government, by the overthrow of that confederation, preceded by the emancipation of every slave, and by the subsequent reconstruction of every insurgent State with constitutions themselves obliterating slavery; and lastly by the 14th and 15th amendments giving to all men equal rights and equal powers under the government, even that distinctive idea has been taken from the Republican party, leaving it, as a party, no peculiarity of doctrine for its future aspirations upon which to rally its partisans. Its record is of the

past alone. Its mission, at home, has ended save to garner the gleanings of the harvest of its great past.

THE DEMOCRACY DWINDLE INTO AN
OPPOSITION ONLY.

The more intelligent of the Democratic party—those not bound up in the simple traditions of the resolutions of '98—those who think for themselves, who study the philosophy of events and indulge even a hope of a political future, accept the amendments of the constitution—which are but the statutory expression of the condition of the public mind on the questions which the war settled—as a finality, and propose no longer to struggle against what is political fate; so that to the leading minds of the Democracy all former party ideas have vanished save carping criticisms upon the republican administration of government, which may be the basis of an opposition, but not the foundation upon which a great party can sustain itself and govern a country.

THE SHIBBOLETH OF REPUBLICANISM—
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTRY IS NOT TO PASS INTO THE
HANDS OF ITS ENEMIES.

When the call to arms in 1861 ranged patriotic men of all shades of political opinion on the side of the government, and by the mere force of that circumstance they were thrown into the ranks of the Republican party because they saw that the time had come when slavery

was no longer compatible with free institutions as they existed under the Union and Constitution, many who had acted all their lives with the Democratic party became identified as Republicans, bringing into that party all their Democratic doctrines and opinions except those upon freedom and slavery, which had been grafted upon the Democratic creed by the necessity of sustaining the institutions of the South where the majority of the party held sway. This class of Republicans, or war Democrats, formed no inconsiderable portion of the Republican party and aided not a little in the ultimate triumphs of the country in the struggle for its life. So it happens that the Republican party is scarcely a homogeneous one. Its members to-day hold but a single thought in common—they may and do differ upon all else. That is the determination that the government of the country ought not, must not and shall not pass into the hands of those who sought to divide and destroy it, or who were passively willing it should be divided.

GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION STRONGER
THAN ANY SINCE JACKSON.

Herein lies the secret of that admirable vitality of the Republican party which has become the wonder of the politician and the dread of the Democracy. This determination of all true men, shown in every canvass, expressed by every ballot

has enabled the Republican party, after ten consecutive years of administration, after three times electing its president notwithstanding the apostasy of one, in spite of the many corruptions that necessarily creep into a party so long holding power, to do, as it is now doing, what no other administration has been able to do since Jackson—elect to the first House of Representatives, chosen after the inauguration of its president, a majority of nearly two-thirds. Save in the case of Lincoln only in 1862, when the war united all parties at the North, and the whole South had thrown itself off, who was enabled to carry a small majority, this has not been done since Jackson. Every other president but Grant has found an opposition speaker in his first House of Representatives. Even Pierce, who carried the whole country save five States, is not an exception.

LOYALTY TO FREEDOM THE PREREQUISITE TO POLITICAL PREFERENCE.

And why this marvellous result? Because the people believe the Republican party have saved the country; they believe that it desires to maintain liberty and free institutions secured by law; that in spite of all its mistakes, all its shortcomings, and all its sins of omission and commission—and they are many, to our shame be it spoken—that the interests of the country as the representative government, as an exemplar to man-

kind, are safer in the hands of the Republican party than in the hands of that Democracy who sympathized with the rebellion and threatens when in power, to unsettle all the issues closed by the war. This one vital thought—Fidelity to Freedom, Law and Country—is the shibboleth that every true man must utter who expects political preferment at the hands of the people.

Upon all other questions the widest latitude of opinion is permitted in the Republican party.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY DIVIDED UPON THE TARIFF.

Upon the tariff some are for protection *per se*, and some are free traders, while perhaps the major part, learning from experience that indirect taxation is most easily borne by the people and most easily enforced by government, and believing that the necessities of the country to meet the required large expenditures of administration and the interest upon the public debt—a legacy of the war—have made a need for tariff to raise revenue sufficient for a basis to all necessary incidental protection to American industries, have adopted for their policy such a revenue tariff with incidental protection, with the largest possible free list.

DEMOCRACY NOT A UNIT FOR FREE-TRADE.

Like differences upon a tariff policy disturb the peace of the Democracy.

The farmer of the Northwest believes there ought to be protection for his wool. The Kentuckian asks it for his hemp, and the Louisianian for his sugar. So by no means are our opponents united upon revenue measures.

REPUBLICAN DIFFERENCES UPON FINANCE AND CURRENCY.

Upon measures of finance and the character of our currency, similar differences divide the adherents of each party. Many good and earnest Republicans believe that the present currency furnished by the national banks is the best that the world ever saw, and that the prosperity if not the safety of the country is bound up in the sustenance of those institutions and the money they issue. Some also believe that the wealth loaned the government during the war, although the lender took advantage of the then depressed state of the nation's credit to make the best bargain he could and to loan his money at fifty per cent. or less of the obligation in coin, should never be made subject to taxation for any purpose whatever, and should be paid in gold at its full face, irrespective of the terms of the law which created the debt. Others are equally certain that paper money issued by corporations for their own gain and profit is the dearest and worst currency with which a nation can be cursed, and in the language of Webster, that of all institutions ever devised by men to

make the rich richer and the poor poorer, and to till the rich man's field by the sweat of the poor man's brow, the banking system which issues as money, an irredeemable currency, bears the palm. Some believe that the burdens of taxation upon invested capital should be equal, whether the investment is in commerce, in manufactures, in agriculture or in national securities, and see no reason why more than two thousand millions of the most productive wealth of the country should be substantially exempted from the public burdens, and especially the taxation of the nation which gives the only value to that class of capital. Some of these last also believe that the notes of the nation issued without cost or interest is a better currency than the note of any corporation issued for profit to the corporators can be. And they further believe that it is right of the government, if it is deemed politic, to pay its debts in exact accordance with the provisions of the laws creating them.

SOLDIERS' PENSIONS A PREFERRED DEBT, TO BE PAID IN GOLD.

And they *know* if any preference is to be given to any class of the government creditors by provisions for payment in coin, it should be to those debts of high honor due to the soldiers who fought in the trenches of Vicksburg, Petersburg, and on the fields of Gettysburg and the heights of Lookout Mountain, and to

the mothers, widows and orphans in their promised pensions, the price of a husband's and father's life-blood and limb.

FAILURE TO MAKE FINANCIAL QUESTIONS A TEST OF REPUBLICANISM.

An attempt was made two years ago to read out of the Republican party those who held such belief, irrespective of their record of services to the country, or their fidelity upon those other great and vital questions of freedom and loyalty to the government, which were the very essence of its existence. That attempt, however, was soon found to be utterly futile in the West, and the only case in which it was tried in the East resulted in so miserable a failure, so disastrous to those who undertook it, that the experiment will hardly be repeated.

CONGRESS REFUSES TO TAX THE PEOPLE FOR THE IMMEDIATE PAYMENT OF THE PUBLIC DEBT.

The division in sentiment in both parties upon finance is still more curiously shown in what may be properly denominated the only administration measure of finance, that is, the taxation of the people for the immediate payment of the public debt.

In his last annual report, the Secretary of the Treasury, speaking as the organ of the administration,

fully recommended congress to sustain the then rate of taxation in order to a speedy payment of the public debt. The administration seemed to entrench itself as in its stronghold in this, its great finance measure, yet we see a Republican congress, not without division in the Republican party, aided largely by Democratic votes, reducing both direct and indirect taxation of the people more than eighty millions of dollars at a single session, thus depriving the Treasury in a very large degree—nearly 50 per cent.—of the means to carry out its own recommendations. Perhaps upon no measure was there a greater departure from the recommendation of the administration by congress than upon this. The Secretary of the Treasury made the ultimatum of his administration the immediate payment of the public debt, which could only be done by keeping up the high rates of taxation imposed by the necessities of the war. And if economy in expenditures, if vigor in the collection of the revenue, if studious, energetic employment of all its products in cancelling the national obligations, be evidence of the wisdom of a policy, certainly the highest praise is to be bestowed upon our honored fellow citizen, the Secretary of the Treasury. Assuming the desirableness of his end, with scrupulous honesty and integrity of purpose, he has adopted every means to that consummation.

UNWISE TO EXHAUST BY TAXATION CAPITAL NEEDED TO DEVELOP THE COUNTRY.

But a Republican congress doubted—and I am one of those who think that they might well be permitted to doubt—the wisdom of exhausting the commercial capital of the country in order to cancel the national obligations within the life-time of the present generation. What, exactly, did the Secretary propose to do? It was proposed to take by taxation from the people one hundred and fifty to two hundred millions of dollars each year with which to lessen, or, as it was phrased, to pay the national debt.

SIX PER CENT. ONLY SAVED, AND TEN PER CENT. LOST THEREBY.

But we all of us know that every dollar of money used in the agricultural, commercial and industrial enterprises of this country costs the merchant, manufacturer or agriculturist at least ten per cent. interest per annum; and we have seen the singular spectacle of a government, in order to save six per cent. interest, taking by taxation from the capital which the people needed to carry on their business, costing them ten per cent., nearly two hundred millions of dollars a year. Or, in other words, in order to save six per cent. interest to itself, the government causes the people to pay ten per cent. interest to obtain the money to answer the demands of the tax gatherer.

CONGRESS CUT OFF EIGHTY MILLION TAXES LAST SESSION—WILL AN EQUAL AMOUNT NEXT.

A majority of the Republican party and a portion of the Democratic party did not think this wise, and therefore taxation was reduced, as we have seen, more than eighty millions, and, in the coming session of congress it is safe to predict it will be reduced in quite an equal amount.

THE ALLEGHANIES DIVIDE BOTH PARTIES ON FINANCIAL QUESTIONS.

The Democracy of the West are sundered from their brethren upon these same measures. Indeed, with a few exceptions, upon questions of finance both parties in the country are substantially divided by a line running North and South along the backbone of the Alleghanies. Those on the Easterly side, where capital abounds, believe that it should be exempt from taxation; those on the Westerly side, the debtor portion of the nation, believe that capital should bear equal if not a greater share of the public burdens.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY CHANGES FRONT ON THE ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY.

Upon another set of great public measures a still more curious division and exchange of party ideas takes place. Heretofore it has been the boast of the Democratic party that they desired to extend the boundaries of the country, or, in the catch-

word of the day "the area of freedom," by acquisition of territory. Now we see a Republican administration with wise prescience of the interest of the nation, seeking to annex San Domingo, sustained by a majority of a Republican Senate, and by a majority of a Republican House, and the whole Democratic vote solidly against receiving into the Union the best and most desirable acquisition that has ever offered an extension of our empire.

THE WISDOM OF THE ANNEXATION OF SAN DOMINGO.

Upon the annexation of San Domingo, one would have thought no patriot would have doubted the wise foresight of the President in eagerly pursuing this acquisition. The outermost island of the Antilles, with the best harbor and most easily defended as a naval station of any on the continent, safe and salubrious at all seasons of the year at Samana Bay, a well-fortified naval station and coal depot of the United States established there, would render all the naval stations of Great Britain or other foreign powers in the West Indies untenable and useless. Whoever desires this continent shall be ruled by Americans, and that all foreign powers shall retire therefrom, will agree with the President in his desire to have San Domingo, the priceless jewel of the sea, the possession of which insures Cuba as our own.

ACQUISITION FAILED THROUGH DEMOCRATIC VOTES.

That administration measure failed by a union of a minority of the Republicans with the solid of the Democratic vote; yet the acquisition of Cuba, a less fertile and less commanding island of the Antilles, at the cost of unnumbered millions, has been the subject of advocacy resolutions, time out of mind, in Democratic conventions, equalled in number only by the repetition of the resolutions of '98.

DEMOCRATS AND TARIFF MEN UNITE TO CRIPPLE OUR COMMERCE.

We also see a like division in each party upon the question of the re-establishment of American commerce, crippled and almost destroyed by the hostile acts of Great Britain during the rebellion, most vividly illustrated at the breaking out of the war between Prussia and France, when the President, as an administration measure, by a formal message recommended that our merchants have liberty to purchase the iron steamships of the belligerents which might be otherwise locked up by blockade in their ports to be navigated under our flag, thus give employment to our sailors and to cheapen the transportation of our exports.

TARIFF MEN AND FREE TRADERS UNITED AGAINST OUR BUYING SHIPS.

We then saw the singular spectacle in congress of leading Democrats, one, an old whig abolitionist, rep-

representing the Democracy of New York city, striking hands with the Republican tariff men of Maine and Pennsylvania, as well in the Senate as in the House, to talk against time so that the waning hours of the session might expire, to prevent the passage of a Republican administration measure to relieve American commerce.

BOTH UNITE AGAINST OUR SHIP-
BUILDERS.

Nor was this the only instance of the division of the members of both parties on a kindred subject. A bill prepared by a select committee of the Republican House of representatives on the decline of American commerce, endorsed by a Republican President of the United States in a special message, devised to afford relief to American ship builders, failed of consideration in a House of Representatives with a nominal Republican majority of more than two-thirds, by the votes of a minority of the Republicans going with the not undivided handful of Democrats.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY DESTROYING STATE
RIGHTS IN THE VITAL POINT.

Let us now turn to the only question in which the Republican and Democratic parties seem to be exactly and diametrically opposed, the rights of the States in the Union as States. Upon the most material of the rights of States, there seems to be a vivid interchange of views once

held by the two parties. Previous and subsequent even to the last Presidential canvass, the candidate of the Democratic party has been demonstrating to his followers, as a matter imperatively calling for reform, the inequality of representation in the Senate of the United States of the smaller States, such as Delaware, Rhode Island, Florida and Nevada, showing that their representation as States by Senators having equal powers with the Senators of such States as New York, Pennsylvania and Illinois, is unequal and unjust, and wholly subversive of the Democratic doctrine of the right of the majority of the people to govern. So that the Democracy is found attacking the rights of States at the only point where States as States can make themselves felt in federal legislation, to wit: State representation in the Senate; while the Republican party, so far as it has expressed itself, sustains the rights of all the States to equality of representation in the Senate.

ALL FORMER PARTY ISSUES EITHER
IGNORED OR EXCHANGED.

Thus we have seen that upon quite every issue that once divided the two great parties, either differences exist among their partizans or that each party has substantially changed its ground, one upholding that which the other formerly denied, the other denying that which it had asserted.

THE DUTY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY
TO ADJUST FOREIGN QUESTIONS.

We have also seen that the Republican party has adjusted all the questions raised by the war, so far as they affect the internal polity of the government, and so far as itself is concerned. There now remains to it only to adjust the great international and foreign questions that were evolved by our late terrible civil contest. And as we have reconstructed the States lately destroyed by the rebellion, so we should reconstruct our commerce likewise destroyed in the same war. As we have adjusted the claims of our citizens for damages done in the war by our own government, so far as we have thought them just and equitable and not tainted with rebellion, so we should now adjust the claims of our citizens and the claims of our nation upon those nations who took advantage of our crippled condition to show a hostile spirit followed by unfriendly acts.

THE COURSE OF ENGLAND DURING THE
WAR WAS MORE OBJECTIONABLE
THAN THAT OF FRANCE.

The chief offender against the national dignity and honor in this regard is the government of Great Britain. True, imperial France was quite as early in the recognition of the belligerent rights of the rebels, quite as unfriendly in its spirit—in its attack upon the neighboring republic of Mexico; but in the latter

it failed to do us any injury, and the former was followed by no act of which we could justly complain. No rebel cruiser was fitted out or entertained and refitted in any French port. No pirate was let loose by Napoleon to prey upon our commerce.

ALABAMA CLAIMS DO NOT REST ON
THE MERE INFRACTIONS OF PUBLIC
LAWS.

Upon what are popularly known as the Alabama claims, I entertain some views of the grounds upon which they may rest different from those usually put forth as the basis of our grievances. I do not now nor should I ever propose to argue the question whether England was too early or sufficiently late in her recognition of the belligerent rights of the South. I hold, with the President, that the question of time for recognizing the belligerency of contending parties is one to be settled by each nation for itself, and no other nation has any proper ground for complaint of that determination. Nor do I care to examine whether the Alabama and Shenandoah might or might not have been kept in port by more vigilance or increased activity of the British law officers, or by more stringent municipal laws. Admit, for the sake of the argument, that in that regard Great Britain did each act in conformity with the laws of nations.

THE LAW OF NATIONS VIOLATED.

Yet, it will not be denied that afterwards the Alabama and Shenandoah were received in British ports, their officers feted, toasted and dined, and the vessels refitted, provisioned and supplied with the necessary means of continuing their warfare upon our commerce, which was clearly a violation of international laws.

BITTER HOSTILITY OF ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.

Nor will it be denied that the government of England was bitterly hostile to the Union during the whole prosecution of the war; and was only restrained by her fears of the results, and not by love of the United States, from actively taking sides in that contest by acknowledging the Confederacy. No man can doubt that her government heartily desired that her only successful commercial rival should be crushed.

ENGLAND FOUNDS THE DOMINION OF CANADA TO CRIPPLE US.

Nor can we look upon the consolidation of her provinces upon the north of us into a new nation called a Dominion, from which unchecked raids were made upon our defenceless borders, (while the war was raging), as other than a hostile movement, designed to cripple us in case the South should be successful, by creating an unfriendly nation on the North of us,

to be in accord with a hostile nation on the South. By the valor of our soldiers and the patriotism of our people, under the providence of God, the British government was disappointed in its dearest wishes and failed of its most cherished desires.

SHE HAS DESTROYED OUR COMMERCE AND PROLONGED THE WAR.

The effect of what was done and omitted to be done by Great Britain, that as a friendly nation she ought to have done, is that our commerce has been substantially swept from the seas; we had only thousands of tons at the close of the war where we had millions of tons at the beginning. No man, even now, can cross the Atlantic Ocean in a sea-going steamer flying the American flag.

Another effect of the position of the British government toward the South, by giving false hopes to the Confederacy, was to prolong the war, at the expense of millions upon millions of treasure and thousands upon thousands of lives.

NOTHING DONE FOR SIX YEARS.

And yet we are far into the sixth year since the war was ended without being nearer, — not to say to a reparation for these wrongs — even to a practical consideration of the questions involved than we were at the day of the surrender of Lee.

DUTY OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY TO
SETTLE FOR THESE WRONGS.

The Republican party is the dominant party of the country, and must remain so for the next three years at least. Upon it and upon its administration devolve the duty and the burden of bringing to a conclusion all these questions and obtaining the needed reparation, indemnification, and apology for our wrongs. Delays aid not their solution, but rather add to their complications. Time can never obliterate the deep sense of injury this nation entertains of the action of Great Britain during our war. Years only intensify its bitterness. The gaping wounds in our national honor never will close up by lapse of years. They must always remain green, open, sore, until healed by the potent salve of ample reparation and indemnification.

WRONG AND COWARDLY TO WAIT TILL
ENGLAND IS IN WAR TO LET
PIRATES LOOSE ON HER
COMMERCE.

True, it is urged by some, not too far-sighted or discriminating people, principally newspaper writers, that we should delay settlement of our claims until England gets into a war, and then let loose other Alabamas, other Shenandoahs, and other Floridas from our ports, in the interests of the belligerent nation with which she should be at war, to prey upon her commerce, especially to

make the pretext of war between herself and either of her dependencies, to have our own citizens fit out our ships as cruisers under some apocryphal flag and thus to avenge our wrongs. The statesmanship of those who advocate such a course would seem to be this: we complain of her wrongs, and we propose to make those right by doing other like wrongs to be inflicted in safety when our enemy is crippled. Is this statesmanship? Is it magnanimous? Is such redress bold, is it manly? Nay, is it not sneakingly cowardly?

LET US DEMAND OUR RIGHTS AND
MAINTAIN THAT DEMAND.

Let us rather stand up in the manly strength of our nationhood, and fearlessly, boldly claim the rights which belong to us, insist upon their being respected, and that all questions between us and Great Britain be adjusted at once and forever, so as to take away all cause of unfriendliness between two powerful nations of the earth. Let us say to Great Britain, "Thus much we are wronged; thus much we require to satisfy the nation's honor and the nation's loss, and for that wrong, and that loss, thus much we must have, because it is our right, and because we are able to maintain our right." Judge ye between the two proposed modes of adjusting the Alabama claims.

OUR CLAIMS AGAINST ENGLAND DO NOT
DEPEND ON LEGAL QUIBBLES.

I have already said that I would deal with this question wholly independently of the discussion of the mere legal rights of the parties as determined by public law ; and I do so upon this, among other grounds. Whether England stood upon the *apices* of her legal rights, or stepped beyond them when she made use of her power and position to injure us, because of her hostile spirit, can make no difference in the amount of wrong done to us. The injury is as great, if she was technically within the law, as if she had broken some rule of international law, fancifully enacted by some student publicist in his closet, when writing a book.

OUR CLAIM IS THAT SHE HARMED US
BY HER HOSTILITY.

I only see that her government was hostile, and her hostility was harmful to the United States, and was so intended. We claim reparation for that harm done by this hostility. The question is how are we to enforce our rights? By declaring war? By no means. The United States will never lightly declare war. We are not a war-making government ; we are only a war-carrying-on government when war is made upon us.

HOW TO BEAT A VICIOUS NEIGHBOR.

I would apply the same doctrine to nations that I would to individuals un-

derlike circumstances. If my neighbor takes advantage of the fact that his line lies close under my windows, to build a high fence to shut out the light and air from my dwelling, in order to show his hostility to myself and family, do I stop to inquire whether he has put that fence one inch over or one inch within the line which divides his land from mine? If he has put it one inch over, I may sue him in the courts of law. But there are no courts of law to adjust disputes between nations. If he has put it one inch on his own land, to gratify his ill will and injure me, what is my remedy? Simply to declare him a bad neighbor, and that I will have nothing to do with him in the future, save to get him out of my neighborhood if I can, and as soon as I can, either by causing him to move or by removing myself.

OUR REMEDY, NON-INTERCOURSE, WHICH
IS NOT JUST CAUSE OF WAR.

So would I do with England. If she will not make reparation for the wrongs done us during the war by her hostility, not by simply making good the millions that our merchants lost, but by making good all that the nation has lost, I would treat her as I should my vicious neighbor, who gave vent to his enmity by darkening my windows—declare that I would have nothing to do with her, that I would neither buy nor sell with her, or after due notice hold diplomatic or commercial rela-

tions with her henceforth until full reparation is made. *Complete, thorough and stringent non-intercourse is the remedy.* That is not war. That is not a *casus belli* under any suggestion of the law of nations. We have the undisputed right to trade with whom we please, or to refuse to trade with whom we please.

ENGLAND DARE NOT TREAT US AS SHE
DID CHINA.

True, Great Britain, when the Government of China refused to have its subjects poisoned by English opium, sent a fleet and forced the opium down the throats of the Chinese at the mouth of her cannon; but what publicist ever dreamed that that was done under any provision of international law, but only an exhibition of force? Besides, China had not been admitted into the family of nations. When the United States decides not to buy British goods until she settles the Alabama claims, I am willing to see Great Britain if she thinks best send her fleets to our ports to send us to take her manufactures of iron and wool.

We know how to conduct a defensive war whether by sea or land.

TAKING OUR TRADE AND PRODUCTS
FROM ENGLAND WOULD WORK A
REVOLUTION IN THEIR
GOVERNMENT.

I do not deem it either unmanly or unfair to say to England that she

shall have none of our cotton or breadstuffs until this question is settled, although such deprivation to Manchester, Birmingham and Bradford might work a revolution in her government in six months.

NON-INTERCOURSE RIGHT, THOUGH WE
TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE
OPPORTUNITY.

Nor would it be more unmanly or unfair to declare such non-intercourse, because now is our opportunity insomuch as Prussia and France will be ready, in recovering from their exhaustion, to take from us all the surplus that we have both of cotton and food for export, even if they become sellers of the first to England. Nor is it our fault if England's delays in doing us justice have postponed our demand for it till her complications with Russia, have substantially put her at our mercy.

BY THIS COURSE WE SHOULD SAVE MORE
THAN THE AMOUNT OF OUR LOSSES
BY THE ALABAMA, WHICH THE
U. S. GOVERNMENT OUGHT
TO ASSUME.

The saving to the country by non-importation of British goods—the impetus given to our manufactories—the protection thus afforded to American industry, would very soon quite make good to us all that we have lost in money by the Alabama outrages. The United States government ought to assume and pay all that there is of

ascertained loss to the individual citizens because of these claims.

THE DIFFERENT CLASSES OF WRONGS STATED.

The magnitude of the claims by this country, as a nation, upon England, and the claims of individuals as individuals upon either government, is very different. When the individual claims upon the government, he cannot make good his claim if, being insured, he has been paid insurance, because, if his claim is allowed he will receive his pay twice. Nor can the insurer, even if he has paid the insurance, make any claim, because the war-premiums which he demanded for his insuring were equal to the losses which he paid. Such is the very theory of insurance; so that if he were paid by the Government too, he would be twice paid. The loss has fallen upon the merchants, who paid the war-premiums and had their commerce crippled by British interference, who are too scattered and too numerous to have their losses adjusted as individual claims, and upon the nation whose sovereignty and honor were defied and insulted.

Therefore, it seems to me but proper that the United States should undertake to remunerate small amounts due the individual claimants, and then add the amounts so paid to its own great claim to be adjusted by Great Britain as a whole.

ENGLAND, AS REPARATION, OUGHT TO
REMOVE ALL DANGER OF COL-
LISION IN THE FUTURE.

For, after all, the great injury and wrong is not one to be compensated in money. The better reparation to this nation would be for England to remove all opportunity or cause of collision between the two countries in the future. But those must always exist so long as England has a government under her control, and for the acts of which she is responsible, stretching from ocean to ocean, across our northern border, and for many hundred miles intervening between us and our newly acquired territory, Alaska, and while she holds her naval stations and depots at Jamaica, Nassau and the Barbadoes, from which our commerce and our coast can be menaced in any future war on this side the Atlantic.

TO SO DO SHE SHOULD REMOVE HER
POWER FROM THIS CONTINENT.

Therefore would I suggest that that which would best satisfy the people — that which would best meet the exigencies of the occasion, and that which England could part with herself in most honor, by showing a desire to take away all ground of possible unfriendly relations in the future, would be that she should withdraw her power from this continent.

SUCH REMOVAL AN HONORABLE AND
SUFFICIENT EQUIVALENT FOR THE
ALABAMA CLAIMS.

I do not ask her to give us Canada and her Provinces. I should be willing to assume all the Alabama claims and settle all possible differences between the two nations tomorrow, if Great Britain will leave the Western Continent. Simply divorce herself from them, and permit her provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland, and British Columbia, each to settle for itself by the action of its own people, what shall be its future. I am asked, will the Provinces vote for annexation to this country? I am willing to take the risk that men and countries will act for their own best interests.

OBJECTIONS IN MONEY POINT OF VIEW
TO THIS MODE OF SETTLEMENT
ANSWERED, AND REASONS
FOR IT SHOWN.

It is objected, why pay the millions due us for the Alabama losses to great Britain for the Provinces which she is ready to give up without money and without price as soon as Canada asks for the separation?

The answer is an obvious one, viewing the matter only as a money question. So long as Great Britain does not say to her colonies: "You are quite at liberty, and it would be an advantage to both, to have you separate from us," so long a spirit

of loyalty, fostered by the social relations of the ruling classes in Canada with England, and the feeling that they have a right to call upon British protection at all times for their territory, and even for British indemnity against any loss in defending it, will exist in the Provinces, which will hold them to the mother country against their better interests, and so long will the progress of annexation, which is at last inevitable, be slow, and the period at which Canada and the adjoining provinces will come to us be delayed.

Meantime, we are losing millions upon millions by smuggling, and the expense of keeping up a line of six thousand miles of custom houses along our external border, but which indeed, are powerless to prevent illicit traffic and the consequent immense losses to our revenue. In fact, the Minister of Finance of the Dominion openly declares that the United States must depend upon their own laws alone to prevent the importation of foreign goods along their borders, and he holds out that threat as one of the inducements to a reciprocity treaty. To tempt fishermen and coasters to smuggle, free ports have been established, covering the line of lakes Hudson and Superior, of more than one thousand miles, and on the Gulf of the St. Lawrence, at Gaspé, with an extent of one thousand five hundred miles, as depots of free goods imported, to lie there ready

for the smuggler whenever opportunity permits.

Further, Canada threatens that unless we admit her grain at a low rate of duty, so as to vie with the productions of our own farm, it shall be distilled into spirits and in that form smuggled into our territory in competition with our distillers, and in evasion of the heavy tax upon spirits from which we hope at some time, not long in the future, to receive taxation enough to pay the interest on our debt.

It would be more economical for the United States to pay the Alabama claims, whatever they may be, in money five times over, than to allow the present commercial and political relations of Canada, with all the losses, expenses and complications to remain open for a single year, to say nothing of the cost to us of the suppression of the raids of our irrepressible Fenian brethren, which seem likely to be periodically repeated, at least until Ireland is free.

THE DANGERS OF WAR FROM OUR FISHERY COLLISIONS.

But there are other and more difficult complications arising daily which demand in the interest of peace between the two nations, the immediate settlement of the Alabama claims, in a manner which shall take away all possibility of future entanglements. For the purpose of forcing a reciprocity treaty upon the United States,

the Canadian government has been for the past two years renewing its pretensions to the exclusive right of the fisheries in the great bays and estuaries along shores adjoining the British provinces, pretensions which are only to be examined to be found unjust, pretensions under which they have seized a number of vessels belonging to the United States upon the flimsiest pretexts, broken up the voyages; turned loose the crews who are part owners; and subjected the owners to the hardship of defending their claims to their own property before a British Vice-admiralty Court, only to find their vessels, if they succeed, returned to them stripped of their lines, cordage and running rigging; allowed to go to waste, while in the hands of the court; with their cargoes perished; the voyage broken up, and the means of continuing it carried off without any responsibility for the loss. Canada claims to enact laws providing for the seizure and confiscation of our vessels if they fish within the lines which her laws prescribe, and also if found taking shelter for more than twenty-four hours in her bays and harbors, whatever the inclemency of the weather, or even if buying provisions or supplies therein, with which to fish anywhere upon the broad expanse of the ocean. This condition of conflicting rights and claims cannot long rest without collisions which will severely endanger the peace of the nations. American sea

men are not too patient of wrongs from that power which impressed their fathers and searched their ships on the high seas—till we went to war for sailors' rights.

OUR RIGHTS TO THE FISHERIES HISTORICALLY VINDICATED.

As the conflicting claims of the two governments to these fisheries, are but little understood save by students of our international relations, I may be pardoned, I trust, for trespassing upon your patience a few moments to succinctly state exactly our rights and the claims of Canada.

The importance of the fisheries on the northern coast of America was very early known and appreciated by both France and England; indeed it is almost certain that the Grand Bank were known and fished by Europeans before the discoveries by Columbus. When France had colonized Canada, Acadia and Cape Breton, she built her strongest fortress on this continent at Louisbourg, so important did she deem her fisheries, to protect them.

THE FISHERIES CAPTURED FROM THE FRENCH BY MASSACHUSETTS TROOPS.

That fortress was captured by the infant colonies of Massachusetts Bay, without any assistance of the troops of the mother country, and the fisheries were thereby wrested from France. This gallant exploit was done in 1758, a year before Wolf attacked Quebec, and was the beginning of

that series of victories by which Great Britain destroyed the power of France upon this continent. The expedition was under a Massachusetts General, and largely composed of Massachusetts troops, and was fitted out and carried to its successful result that Massachusetts fishermen should have free fishery in these seas. And permit me to say here, that the rights obtained by the fathers will be maintained by their sons.

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE FISHING RIGHTS AS VIEWED BY THE FOUNDERS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

In the negotiation for peace which terminated the war of the Revolution, John Adams, although his State had suffered fearfully in the contest, had contributed more men and money than all the other states put together, and was enormously involved in debt, yet that sturdy, incorruptible old patriot, declared that the war should go on rather than give up any portion of rights to the fisheries; and by the treaty of 1783, all the rights of fishing in Canadian and Nova Scotian waters, that we had ever enjoyed in common with other British subjects, were especially reserved to us.

RIGHTS NOT CHANGED BY THE WAR OF 1812.

At the conclusion of the war of 1812, the subject of the fisheries was not brought into controversy in the negotiations of the treaty.

Other points of difference were thereby settled, but upon the fisheries nothing was said in the treaty, for upon these rights and immunities of the United States there were no differences. The American commissioners were expressly instructed not to yield our fishing rights, and the English commissioners made no claim that they should so do. Upon this topic, John Adams, although bitterly opposed to the war as a Federalist, wrote to President Monroe this memorable and emphatic sentence:

“I would continue this war forever rather than surrender one acre of our territory, one iota of our fisheries, as established by the third article of the treaty of 1783.”

Brave, true old man! And for myself, let me say, I could almost vote for his great grandson governor if he will take the same bold stand beside me in behalf of American fishermen.

It is necessary to observe, however, that the rights of fisheries secured by this treaty did not extend to the shores of Newfoundland, of the Magdalen Islands, or Labrador, nor did it include the right, which was well secured by the law of nations without it, of putting in for shelter and repairs into the provincial ports and harbors. For the three years succeeding the war there was never a suggestion from any quarter that we did not enjoy all the fishing rights we had ever had since John Adams's time.

THE CONVENTION OF 1818 ONLY KEPT US
OUTSIDE OF A LINE THREE MILES
FROM SHORE.

It being deemed of the highest importance to obtain the right to land upon Labrador, the Magdalen Islands and Newfoundland to cure the codfish, Rush and Gallatin were appointed commissioners in 1818 to negotiate for such unprovided-for privileges. To obtain these they incautiously—and as I think unwisely—surrendered the right always before enjoyed by our fishermen to take and cure fish within three miles of the land on the coasts, bays, harbors and creeks of the provinces. The contemporaneous construction of the provision of the treaty made by them by all parties, as well the local officers and magistrates as those of the Imperial Government, was to permit our fishermen to fish in the great bays and gulfs like those of Chaleurs and the Bay of Fundy, and that the three-mile construction only applied to those little bays or harbors wherein we had reserved the right to go for shelter and repair.

ENGLAND PUTS A FALSE CONSTRUCTION
ON THE TREATY TO FORCE US INTO
RECIPROCITY.

For more than twenty years this construction prevailed without question, when suddenly the Colonial Governments, desiring to force upon us a reciprocity Treaty and thereby to gain commercial advantages, claimed a construction that the three-mile line was to be drawn

from headland to headland, *i.e.* from a point three miles outside of one headland to a point three miles outside of another headland, and by which the great bays of Fundy and Chaleur were shut in from our fishermen, where we had been accustomed to fish ever since the capture of Louisburg, by our fathers, in 1758. This new construction was firmly and earnestly protested against by our government, but unfortunately not resisted.

LUDICROUS OPINION OF THE BRITISH LAWYERS.

But an opinion of the British Crown lawyers was taken, who decided, with the singular infecility of carelessness of examination, that as "headlands" were referred to in the treaty, the line must be drawn from a point three miles outside of one headland, to a like point opposite the nearest headland. Now it is a curious fact that the word "headland" is not used in the convention at all, so that the opinion was simply an unfounded decision sustained only by the arrogance of British power.

ENGLAND'S ARROGANT PRETENSIONS TO OUR NORTHEASTERN BOUNDARY.

Nor is this the only instance in which England, in her dealings with us, has construed treaties to suit herself, and we have tamely, nay, ignominiously submitted to her pretentious interpretations.

We cannot fail to remember in the treaties of 1783 and 1814, that

our boundary line was to "run from the sources of the St. Croix to the northwest angle of Nova Scotia, and thence by the highlands that divide the waters running into the sea from those that flow into the St. Lawrence." But when it was found that the "highlands" thus described came a little too near Quebec, the principal fortress of Great Britain on this continent, her diplomats claimed that those highlands could not be our boundary because the River of the St. John whose head-waters begin on the atlantic side of these highlands, did not run into the sea at all, but only into the Bay of Fundy! And England sent Lord Ashburton to treat with us, upon this basis, and the government of the United States, for the sake of peace, yielded up a large portion of the territory of Maine and Massachusetts upon this absurdity. This could easily be done in the interest of peace, because as the land did not belong to the government but only to the States, it cost it nothing to make the concession. Have we not sufficiently abased ourselves for the sake of peace to the grasping arrogance of British dominion?

THE ABSURDITY OF THE LINE CLAIMED BY THE CROWN LAWYERS.

The absurdity, not to say the monstrosity, of the British claim as to where the line bounding our fishing rights should be drawn, will be seen from the fact that there is but one

headland of the Bay of Fundy in British territory; and the other being on our own coast, if our fishermen are by this construction to be excluded from that bay, then they are to be excluded from fishing on a long line of the coast of Maine. Again, there are many headlands which make the indentations of the coast many miles within a line drawn from headland to headland; nay, the coast is hardly visible in the finest weather. Take, for example, Prince Edward's Island, which, being crescent-shaped, a line drawn three miles from headland to headland would keep a fisherman out so far from shore that it would be impossible for him to tell even where the shore was, or whether he was within or without such supposititious three-mile line. But absurd as this construction is, and as contrary to natural right, and as unsupported as it is by any word of treaty or convention of any kind, or by public law, which recognizes the marine league as following the indentations of the coast,—save, perhaps, only where it covers narrow straits connecting inland seas with the ocean—yet it was eagerly seized upon by the British government as a means of annoyance to the hated and dreaded Yankee fishermen whose enterprise and success eclipsed their own.

THE PROVINCES PASS LAWS TO CONFISCATE OUR FISHERMEN FOUND OVER THAT LINE.

As soon as this construction of their claims was sustained by the British

government, the Provinces passed acts confiscating the vessels of our fishermen found in their bays and harbors; restricting their right to put in for shelter and repairs to twenty-four hours only, and holding it cause of the forfeiture of the vessel if found there for a longer period, whatever might have been the stormy condition of the sea. And, in order to make the seizing officers wholly irresponsible, exempted them from personal liability in case they captured our vessels without probable cause to believe they had infringed even this odious law.

THEY FIT OUT EIGHTEEN ARMED VESSELS
TO DRIVE OUR FISHERMEN OFF
THE FISHING GROUNDS.

In support of such illegal enactments, the British government and the Provinces fitted out and sent on to the fishing grounds of our fathers as many as eighteen armed vessels to drive out our fishermen from these great bays and gulfs, destroying their property and crippling their enterprise to millions in amount—scarcely less than the Alabama claims. To such an extent was this carried while the reciprocity treaty was being urged, that no fisherman was allowed to remain more than twenty-four hours in any port, or to buy any supplies except such necessary equipments as would enable him to put to sea; and if he lingered longer or bought other provisions with which to prosecute his voyage, he was seized and confiscated.

COMPARE BRITISH OPPRESSION OF OUR
FISHERMEN WITH THE AID THEY GAVE
TO THE PIRATE ALABAMA.

Upon the question how friendly to us were the acts of Great Britain during the rebellion, we have only to point to these enactments and their enforcement in regard to our fishermen, the subjects of a friendly nation then at peace with Great Britain, and compare them with the reception in a British port of the Alabama, staying many days and receiving provisions, outfit, balls, parties, plaudits and cheers at the hands of the British Governor at Nassau. How long will the people of this country pause, even in their love of peace, and see their fishermen driven out from the shelter of the harbors of a self-styled friendly power into the storms of the icy ocean, while the same power fetes, protects, and cheers on our pirate enemies?

BY CRIPPLING OUR FISHERIES ENGLAND
FORCED THE RECIPRO-
CITY TREATY.

This crippling of our fisheries had the desired effect, and in 1854, President Pierce, who was a New England man and deeply imbued with the value of these fishing privileges, to get them made a treaty of reciprocity of commerce with Canada, which remained in force until 1865, when fortunately the exigencies of the war and the unfriendly legislation of the Canadians caused its abrogation, and we are now free from its unwise and onerous provisions.

TREATY HIGHLY BENEFICIAL TO CAN-
ADA AND INJURIOUS TO THE
UNITED STATES, SAVE ITS
GRANTS TO FISHERMEN.

How greatly it benefited Canada will be seen in this, that while in 1854, at the date of the treaty, our total of exports into Canada was twenty-four millions, her exports into the United States were only eight millions; yet in five years what we sent Canada had dwindled to twenty-two millions annually, while she sent us twenty-four million dollars' worth of her products, or quite treble the amount before the treaty. It is to be hoped that a reciprocity treaty so onerous especially to our agricultural interests, will never be renewed.

NO COMPLAINT MADE BY CANADA OF
CONDUCT OF OUR FISHERMEN
WHILE THE TREATY
EXISTED.

During the existence of this treaty our fishermen exercised the same rights and privileges in British waters and on British shores as their own subjects, without complaint, murmur or collision, and the British fishermen did the same upon ours—a privilege, by the way, which we still permit them to enjoy unmolested.—The fact of the peaceful relations between the fishermen of the two countries during the treaty makes a curious commentary upon the pretext upon which the prohibitory laws of Canada were passed prior to 1852 to shut out our fishermen from Canadi-

an waters. It was then said that the fishermen trespassed so much upon the shore, and were so troublesome, that it became necessary to exclude them from British waters. All complaint of any such trouble ceased when Canada had got her reciprocity treaty, although our fishermen fished even in the very ports and harbors of the Provinces.

SINCE ABOGATION OF THE TREATY
CANADA HAS REVIVED HER LAWS
TO CRUSH OUR FISHING
INTEREST.

Canada, now that the treaty is annulled, has again revived her oppressive laws passed prior to the treaty, and is enacting new and more stringent ones against our fishermen, arming revenue cutters supported by British men-of-war, who have been engaged even during the present summer in arresting our own fishermen, insomuch that some seven fishing vessels have been seized, their voyages broken up and crews discharged in foreign ports without cause save apparently for the purposes of annoyance.

THE MAGNITUDE OF THAT INTEREST.

Nor is this interest an inconsiderable one. Massachusetts alone sends more than fifteen hundred sail of vessels on to the northern fishing grounds at different seasons, every year. It is evident that these seizures and condemnations cannot continue. Our fishermen will not long submit to be seized by the Canadian revenue cutters without defending themselves.

UNLESS A REMEDY BE FOUND, ARMED
COLLISION INEVITABLE AND
DESIRABLE.

A collision is inevitable if there is no other way in which our rights of fishing can be protected. If the government is powerless to preserve our rights through its diplomacy, a collision is desirable, because then this series of injuries will be terminated in a manner that will astonish diplomacy.

AN OCEAN-BOUND REPUBLIC THE ONLY
SURETY FOR PEACE.

Therefore urging the settlement of the Alabama claims in the manner I have suggested, by withdrawing British power from the continent and giving us an ocean-bound republic, is in the interest of peace and not in the interest of war. No statesman, no patriot can desire war. Nay, no partisan can desire war, as a means of sustaining his party. War is by far too terrible to be lightly levied, or until all other means have failed. We as a nation unhappily now know what war is, its effects, its sequences and its consequences.

DUTY OF REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION
TO REMOVE ALL PROVO-
CATION TO WAR.

It is, therefore, the duty of the patriot and the statesman to provide for a permanent and honorable peace, and to see to it that all causes that may provoke war are removed. Therefore it is the duty of the Administration and the Republican party, as the governing power of this country, to

bring, at once and at all hazards, these Alabama claims and our fishing troubles to an honorable adjustment: such an adjustment as will be sustained by the country, and give assurance that no causes of serious difference between us and England can arise in the future. Such an adjustment will commend the administration of General Grant, with redoubled force, to the people, and win him new laurels in peace, to entwine in the chaplet with those won in the war.

A PEREMPTORY DEMAND OF OUR
RIGHTS, FOLLOWED BY ACTION,
NO CAUSE OF WAR.

It is said, by certain timid anglo-phobists, that a peremptory demand upon England to do what we believe of right ought to be done, to be followed, if refused, by a declaration of non-intercourse on our part, will bring on war by England in preference to an honorable adjustment.—As the action I have proposed to be taken is fully within every rule of international law, such result ought not to follow, and cannot follow, unless England chooses to add violence to her hostility and injustice towards us. Much more stern measures than I have suggested, have been taken by nations in pursuit of their just rights, and not been held to be causes of war.

EXAMPLE OF THE DIPLOMACY OF
CROMWELL.

Reprisals and embargoes, it is agreed by all writers on international

law, are not *casus belli*. Oh! for an hour of the diplomacy of the ablest Ruler England ever had to maintain her national reputation, the stern old puritan, Cromwell, when he sent the Quaker merchant, whose ship had been unjustly seized by a French man-of-war, to Cardinal Mazarin, the Prime Minister of Louis XIV, for redress of his grievance, and told him to wait three days only for an answer. No answer being given in the prescribed time, Cromwell seized a number of French vessels, sufficient to pay the Quaker's claim, sold them and made good the wrong from the proceeds, notifying the king of France that the residue of the price of the vessels was at his service.—Yet no war ensued, says a French writer, because an act of justice was done, although violently done.

EXAMPLE OF THE DIPLOMACY OF
JACKSON.

Or, if you desire a later example, let me recall to your memories Jackson's message to Congress in 1834, when the French Chamber of Deputies had neglected to vote appropriations to pay claims to our citizens which were acknowledged to be due. He said:

"I recommend that a law be passed authorizing reprisals upon French property in case provision shall not be made for the payment of the debt at the approaching session of the French Chambers. Such a measure ought not to be considered by France as a menace. Her pride and power are too well known to expect anything from her fears, and preclude the necessity of a declaration that nothing partaking of the character of intimidation is intended by us. She ought

to look upon it as the evidence only of an inflexible determination on the part of the United States to insist on their rights."

FISHING RIGHTS DEFINED BY QUEEN
ELIZABETH.

When we make any declaration to England of our rights in the fisheries, I want no other language of instruction to our ambassadors than that given by Queen Elizabeth, in 1602, to her ambassadors, when she settled British rights of fishing with Denmark. The British Queen tells them :

"And you shall further declare that the Lave of Nations alloweth of fishing in the sea everywhere ; as also of using ports and coasts of princes in amitie for traffique and avoidinge danger of tempests ; so that if our men be barred thereof, it should be by some contract.—We acknowledge none of that nature."

I ask no stronger language than this, and I have used none, in demanding the rights of my constituents and country. But it must be followed up by acts with a determination to make it good by the Administration and the governing party of the country.

VIGOROUS ENFORCEMENT OF OUR
RIGHTS WOULD BRING AN HON-
ORABLE ADJUSTMENT BY RE-
MOVING CAUSES OF
CONTENTION.

In my poor judgment, such language, properly enforced to the Court of Great Britain, would bring about an honorable adjustment of all our claims, and a full acknowledgment of all our rights. And I also believe that, upon full examination of the

case in all its bearings, the form of settlement I have already suggested would be found the most consistent with the honor and pride of England, most convenient and satisfactory to this country, and most certain to insure lasting peace and amity.

ENGLAND SHOULD HERSELF MAKE
OFFERS OF CONCESSION AND
APOLOGY.

Mere money, without other reparation, will never satisfy the wounded honor of this country. We must have for our satisfaction something more of concession and apology ; and it is for Great Britain to say in what form that will be easiest to herself. I can have no doubt but that her withdrawal from the continent will satisfy our people, although it is only the anticipation of an event which must happen in a few, very few, years, but an hour of a nation's life. If England refuses this, let her say what reparation she will offer to us, the injured party. If nothing, then let all intercourse between the two countries cease.

OUR ADTERNATIVE NO JUST CAUSE
OF WAR.

This, our alternative,—non-intercourse—I do not conceal, either from myself or from you, although not a justifiable cause of war, would, unless it led to a settlement of the difficulty, probably result in a declaration of war by Great Britain. If so, be it so. And in that again case I would say, in the language of Jackson to France:

"If [Great Britain] makes that occasion for hostilities against the United States she but adds violence to injustice, and could not fail to expose herself to the just censure of civilized nations and the retributive judgments of heaven."

THAT MAY HAPPEN TO A NATION
WHICH IS MORE TROUBLESOME
THAN WAR.

I have said, and I repeat again and again, I would not declare war; it is the last and worst remedy for grievances; but yet there are other alternatives more terrible to a nation than war—loss of honor, loss of rights, loss of self-respect. I would do everything, yield everything, accept anything, consistent with patriotism, justice and the dignity of the nation, to adjust peaceably and forever these momentous questions, claims and assertions of international rights, between this country and England. But more we cannot yield or accept, and if the dread alternative is forced upon us of an appeal to arms because of unrequited indignities, injuries and wrongs, as a Republican, then, as an American, I cannot fail to observe the great temptation that this nation has for a war with Great Britain.

THE GREAT PROVOCATIONS TO A WAR
WITH ENGLAND.

Let me say nothing now of the keen sense of wrong and injury inflicted. Let me say nothing of the rising gorge at the thought that England took advantage of our crippled condition to do those things to our hurt which she would not have dared otherwise to do. Let me say nothing now of the

fact that what she did was done to crush a hated commercial rival. Let me say nothing of the fact that she hoped by her course to demonstrate to mankind that the great experiment of freedom to all, now being wrought out by this American government, was a failure, and thus in the interest of Despotism to crush out all hope of republican liberty throughout the world. Let me say nothing of the fact that her hostile acts were done in the interest of a Confederacy whose corner-stone was slavery, and whose object was to perpetuate that slave power which the greed of British merchants and slave-traders had fastened on our country in its infancy.

THE GREAT TEMPTATIONS TO MAKE
WAR WITH ENGLAND.

But I do remember and cannot forget that we have sixteen hundred thousand naturalized Irishmen in this country, every one eager to avenge the wrongs done his mother-land, the Green Isle of the ocean, by British tyranny, which drove him from her soil. I cannot but remember that they require no urging to join our armies in a war with their oppressors, but are prevented by the repressive hand of our government, in the interest of peace and in sacred regard for our treaties of amity, from making war on their own account, and that if we did not hinder them they would take Canada by contract in sixty days.

IT WOULD UNITE THE WHOLE COUNTRY AND BRING THE SOUTH UNDER OUR FLAG.

I cannot but recall the truth that our Southern brethren, many of the best and bravest of them, who fought against the government, with a vain attempt to rid themselves of the glorious memory of its history, are impatiently longing to fight once more under the starry folds of the old flag. Give the privilege to the brave sons of the South to defend their country again in a foreign war, and specially one with Great Britain—not loved by them any more than by us—and it would bring us all together again, uniting us with one flag, one country and one destiny.—In so much is this reunion the hope of the patriot, that one feels almost to doubt whether to achieve it would not be worth all the loss of blood and treasure in such a war.

IT WOULD BE A WAR UPON THE OCEAN ONLY, NOT A COSTLY ONE.

Again, let me not forget that it would be a war upon the ocean—never an expensive one—and where the most brilliant laurels of American arms have been won. And I cannot fail to perceive that the saving of money by the non-importation of British goods, and the stimulus given to American production, would quite equal all the expenditures of the war. I can never forget that in such a war we have no commerce to

lose. Quite all our ships are gone already because of the warlike acts of England's cruisers, which we have so long suffered in insulted silence, although we know that we can sweep the sails of her commerce from the ocean.

SUCH A WAR WOULD BE SUSTAINED BY A MAJORITY OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

As a Republican and a partisan I cannot but remember that whenever a country is engaged in a foreign war, the administration of the government is always sustained by the patriotism of the people. Never would that be so signally demonstrated as in a defensive war with England, brought on by the Republican administration, in a firm, manly and strenuous endeavor to enforce the rights of our injured and despoiled citizens, to avenge our insulted honor, and to maintain our fishermen in those rights now taken from them by England's wrongs, which their fathers won for England and themselves with their own right arms. As a party man I do not fail to remember that of the twenty odd hundred thousand votes of the Democratic party now in opposition, twelve hundred thousand at least are naturalized Irishmen who would stand side by side with a Republican administration in a war with England, Ireland's oppressor for nearly a thousand years, and would vote as they fought.

IT WOULD SUSTAIN THE REPUBLICAN
PARTY IN POWER.

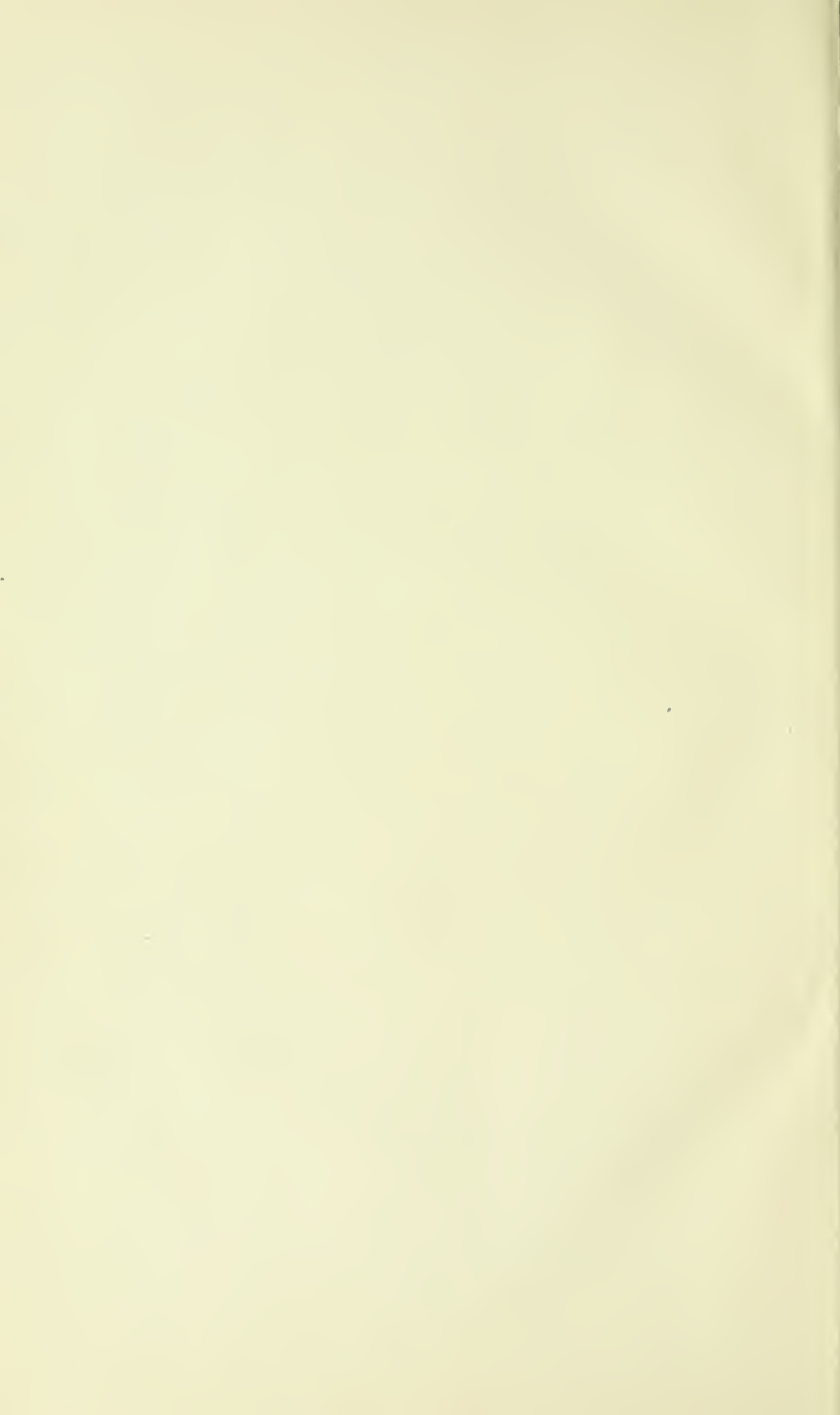
As a politician I have an incentive to such a war, as its result would be the perpetuation of the Republican party in power for more than a generation.

“LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION.”

If, therefore, when we ask for our just rights and indemnification for our losses through her acts, England

should incline to offer us, instead thereof, such a war as I have sketched, with such causes, with such hopes, with such results and such memories, ought not every patriotic American to address to Her Majesty's Government a portion of the prayer which we were taught in childhood every day to say to our Maker—so much more beautiful and appropriate in the original than as translated by English Bishops—“Suffer us not to fall into temptation”?





LIBRARY OF CONGRESS



0 013 766 575 0

